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The
COMMON SENSE CONCEPTION OF THE RACE PROBLEM

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PREFACE

This little book deals with the most important subject that concerns the American people — the race problem. The object is to intensify in the non-white race the necessity of *Unity*, and to inspire them to be united among themselves, a necessity so well manifested through constant and frequent abuses by the lawless white sect.

The circumstances underlying race problem as affecting the black man are of such significance that no ingenious intellect is needed to take cognizance of them. It is for this reason that the term (Common Sense) was adopted, while in the search for an appropriate title. It is written in plain simple language, and includes those facts which seem to me the kind of information and the kind of common sense that are both needed, and the kinds that are most desirable from the social, political, and economical point of view.

Observation of those ignominious and infamous cases mentioned herein might give rise to much reflection. It is my desire that such reflection will serve to awaken the thoughts to better thinking and greater achievements.

The author is impressed with the opinion that the views set forth will be an aid in the strengthening of race consciousness, and trusts that this little book will serve as an enlightenment to our earnest desires, and an ushering into the folds of perpetual happiness.

R. P. Powell

Boston, Massachusetts
January, 1927

THE COMMON SENSE CONCEPTION OF THE RACE PROBLEM

PART ONE

COMMON SENSE

1. DEFINITION

Common sense is that which is characterized by sound practical judgment—the universally admitted impressions of mankind taken as the result of the fact of things without any further scrutiny. Examples are: First, the universal belief in the world as existing with good and with evil, regardless of what might be thought of as good or as evil. Second, the examples experienced by the repeated abuses of black men as if to warn them to beware of that stage of total loss of life, liberty, and justice. It is in accordance with common sense that such tyranny must be stopped, not encouraged, and the question of how must it be stopped was the problem that stirred the writer's zeal to produce this little book.

2. SUBJECT MATTER OF COMMON SENSE

The subject matter of common sense therefore, relates to the generally accepted principles, ideas, and beliefs of mankind. But there are certain beliefs that are concurrent among men in all ages, which when looked into by others have been declared to be groundless illusions. Hence, are the differences of opinion as to the proper course that must be taken in carrying into effect the principles of a certain belief.

3. SOME COMMON SENSE PRINCIPLES

One of the most well known principles of Common Sense is *self-preservation*—the first law of Nature. When man finds himself confronted with immediate danger to

his person or his goods, he acts on the spur of the moment to defend himself or to save his goods. He acts with valor and quickness of spirit because he finds himself in the critical position when existence depends upon "Self Activity". With his back against the wall therefore, a man should trust no future however pleasant, but act in the living present and thus render possible his existence in accordance with the laws of Nature.

The black man's common sense has thus found a place in the thinking world, and it is only the same view otherwise expressed when it is declared by opposing philosophers of the race that absolute freedom must be obtained. But when circumstancs are such that a people is oppressed with severe cruelty, is it not with the accordance of common sense that self-preservation should be the first thought for consideration? But the Negroes are materially obstructive in fighting their cause by indulging in the frequent references to the white man's prejudiced disposition. To say that the white man is prejudiced,—the white man is cruel,—the white man is an hypocrite, is merely an admission of fear and defeat which assures the white man that his prejudice has had the desired effect. He then carries himself with boastful attitude, despising with his prejudiced air every black man with whom he comes in contact.

To make it more clear, let us consider two boys. One is bold and vigorous; the other, shy and timid. The latter lacks the ability to get his nerves together and to put them into action. The first fellow takes pleasure in beating him, and it is useless telling him that he is cruel, it hurts, or that he feels. This does not remove the fact that he is an adversary, is cruel, a tyrant, and an hypocrite. But when the second takes courage, stands up like a man, and meets him force with force, his opponent must stop. The source of the white man's prejudice lies in his desire to supersede and to excel in all things and at all times. In his

struggle to reach this height, he tramples others on the way, but it all leads to self-preservation. Self-preservation, the aim of all civilized races, should also be the aim of the black race.

It follows then, that in the struggle for the survival of a race that certain essential principles must be observed. Among these are Faith, Confidence, Courage, and Endurance.

4. FAITH

Although Faith is used in various senses, it is more generally used to express the reception by the heart of "truth as it is in Christ." "Faith," says St. Paul, "is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." It is a vision or quality of the soul whereby spiritual truth is realized. This is the faith that is needed by a people so oppressed in this country of ours. The distance will be brought near by it; the unseen will be seen to be a reality. Faith is the organ by which the soul passes beyond the present to the eternal, from the visible to the invisible. The soul of the Negro is now filled with longing desire for a passage beyond this present stage of servitude and injustice to that state of full freedom and living affection which binds the Christian to Christ as a Savior, and to the state of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Then shall be found the saving grace by which all men will rest upon Christ alone for salvation. This is its highest and most comprehensive meaning out of which all others come. "What shall I do to be saved?" asked the Philippian jailor of Paul. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ," he replied, "and thou shalt be saved." The Negro, as a race, believes on Him who raised up Christ our Lord from the grave. "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." What people are so heavily laden with oppressions as the black race? But when this Faith shall be realized, then will be found rest and freedom. Faith therefore, in

its highest view, is simply to trust in God and in Christ. This is the faith which "worketh by love" and "overcometh the world".

But no case can be cited in which God had at any time done anything without the active cooperation of man. "Faith without works is dead, for by works a man is justified and not by faith only." God divided the Red Sea, and the Israelites passed over on dry land. By marching and blowing of horns, the walls of Jericho fell. When the hands of Moses grew heavy, and he let them down, Amalek, the enemy prevailed. But so long as Aaron and Hur held up the hands of Moses, Israel prevailed, and Amalek and his people were smitten with the edge of the sword. In each case we find these men in active cooperation with God. If black men will work with faith like such men, God will work with them, and great powers shall fall before them. "For if God be with them, who can be against them?"

5. Confidence

Self-confidence will accomplish great things. When we consider the races of mankind, it seems a fallacy to believe that one race will conscientiously and in good faith endeavor to lift another race to its level or above itself. If they do, they must feel the burden, and will put it down if even to pause for a rest. The Negro must cultivate more confidence in himself. That his delivery depends upon himself must be truly realized. Some men are content with the idea that men of other races are sympathetic enough to fight for them. A little thinking and common sense will prove that it is never the absolute or sole intention of so-called liberators of other races to liberate men of another race. It is rather for a moral principle, a certain desired standard, self-preservation, or some other benefit material to the liberator himself. Many men will suffer even death in upholding a certain right, though violation of such right does not directly affect the upholder.

Great victories have been won by self-confidence. A great general with his army fought without success; in five successive fields of fight he had been conquered and dismayed. As he sat in despair, his lifted eyes perceived a spider which five times had fallen from its web, but the sixth time it had lain its silken thread. With confidence realized, the general sprang to his feet and in pursuit he conquered the enemy. The little spider teaches that man has within him hidden powers; if he will persevere he can accomplish the things that he desires to do. All his ideas can be materialized, and will be seen to be a reality. The Negro's victory is partly won when self-confidence is realized.

6. Courage

Courage is security. A man is safe only when he can stand everything that may happen to him. The black man has borne, and is still bearing inexplicable abuses, but by so doing, he has shown to the world the greatest quality of a man—the quality of endurance. The reason why the whites continue to abuse the blacks, is because they have a false sense of security. In abusing the black man they also abuse their country's liberty. But such abuses can continue only until the black men shall have discovered within themselves the power of their own strength. Let the black man be strong in courage. Abuses by the whites shall not always prevail with prejudice, lynching, and segregation, for the words are true: "There is a time for everything under the sun. A time to sow and a time to reap."

Men of the Black Race

Dare, lift up your head with courage,
And face the world undaunted, unafraid,
And all the forces in God's Kingdom
Will sustain you and give you their assistance.

Charge Yourselves!

Stand forth, my soul, and take command;
'Tis I, thy master, bid thee stand.
Let others cringe. My soul is free,
No hostile force shall conquer me.

There live no circumstances so great
Can make me yield or doubt my fate.
My soul must know what kings have known,
Must reach and claim its rightful throne.

I ask no truce, I have no qualms;
I seek no quarter and no alms.
Let those who will obey the sod;
My soul sprang from the living God.

7. Endurance

Endurance means to bear sufferings without succumbing. It is one of the greatest attributes to mankind. The greatest of men are those men with the ability to endure. In this capacity the black man has demonstrated his ability to endure more than any other race of men in the world. All through the perilous paths of his life, he endures the perils that linger and stay. But here lies the true test of man. "Endurance indeed is the measure of a man."

The sufferings which black men have endured since 1619 when they were brought to America, until 1865 when through Providence they gained their freedom cannot be explained in this little treatise. Observation of current events is sufficient for us to decide what their sufferings must have been. The black race has suffered for hundreds of years under the iron hand of the white race. But there is a turning point in the life of every people; this point we can know by the degree of their pride, for "pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall."

8. Historical Sketch of the Black Man in Africa

The black man in his native land, Africa, comprises many independent tribes. Although some of these tribes may differ in some respects—according to their development, they all bear a strong general appearance to each

other, not only in their physical appearance, but in their intellectual capacities, moral principles, customs, and manners. They depend not only on the schools and colleges of Africa, but many are educated in the colleges of Europe.

Black men in Africa have a marked capacity for practicing the arts of life. They are ingenious in the construction of buildings, and profess much knowledge in the working of gold, iron, and other mineral productions. They manufacture arms, dress and prepare the skins of animals, weave cloth, and manufacture numerous household utensils. They also profess much knowledge of agriculture, and of working the soil. These marks of civilization are apparently hidden. We learn nothing of them in our schools.

Mungo Park, in his account of Sego, the capital of Bambarra, describes it as a city of 30,000 inhabitants, with houses of two stories, having flat roofs, temples of worship in every quarter, and ferries conveying men and horses over the Niger. "The view of this extensive city," he says, "the numerous canoes upon the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed all together a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa."

Savagism is a thing of the past, and Africans are possessed of laws and customs of a civilized people. The native merchant is highly respected, and his goods are safe even in times of warfare. The land is cultivated. Gold and iron are manufactured with ingenuity. The natives wear dresses thicker and more durable than those exported from England, and consequently far dearer. The black men of the sub-equatorial regions in which Livingstone spent the last twenty years of his life, have qualities which forbid us to despair of the progress of Africa in culture. All that is needed is free commercial intercourse with the civilized world. Commerce must carry into Africa the doctrine that the black man is more

capable of maintaining commerce with other parts of the world, than being used as a means of exploitation. Ability to understand such a truth is not wanting, and when it is practiced, the Negro will prove that he is human, and will break through all the obstacles placed in the way of his development and improvement.

The Negro in America includes all men of dark, brown or black color who are the descendants of their forefathers who were deceitfully lured away from Africa by white men more than three hundred years ago. America was then inhabited by the Indians, and by foreigners who had ventured to come here after its discovery by Christopher Columbus. The country had promised great wealth, but a wilderness of land vested in forest with all its good prospects, would be of little value to mankind. The soil must be tilled, the forest must be cut down, and vegetation must be developed. The Indian with his bow and arrow devised for himself his own method of industry and livelihood. The white man at that time might have been incapable of that system of human activity to work out for his own economical welfare; so he brought the black man from Africa and cast him into slavery. It is said that these "wise men" did not then see how tobacco, rice, and cotton could be raised without slave labor. Such incidents serve to justify the fact that the Negro was first in the making of the very foundation of America's industry.

It was not until 1865 that black men were made free and had a chance to take advantage of American civilization. If compared with the whites who have had their civilization over a thousand years ago, the blacks have proved their ability to equal the white man in any of the arts and sciences known to mankind. History records no race with so great an ability as that possessed by the black race. What is it then that occasions the white man's supreme prejudice toward the black man?

9. Color, Reason for Difference?

William Shakespeare, the greatest intellectual being of medieval times, said, "Black men are pearls in beauteous women's eyes." If there were no other but black, we could never know white. Nature seemingly demands variations in color for kindred purposes. The general productions of the earth include three great classes—animal, vegetable, and mineral. In whatever part of the world these products may be found, nature provides a certain state or condition without which it would be impossible for them to exist. Nature provides that men of different climes should develop differences of color; hues suitable for the conditions under which they must live. She provides a certain pigment in the epidermis which will withstand the temperature in the region where such animal, vegetable, or mineral matter must live or exist. In the vegetable world we find provisions of texture and color adapted to the region in which such vegetables must grow.

Nature also makes similar provisions respecting mineral substances of the earth. Must Nature be blamed for making such differences? No! This question proves the fallacy of color prejudice. It is common sense therefore to see that color simply represents to the eye what is Nature's true desire. It follows then that the idea that an animal, vegetable, or mineral is inferior because of its color, is indeed an insult to God Himself. Yet, it is true that because of his color the black man is denied the rights to civil liberty—the rights to life and property.

10. Rights and Liberty of a People

Must a man be white in order to obtain justice? The question presents the status of our present civilization and should not be taken slightly. The Negro like other men must have "rights to opportunities such as a good home, and the liberty to move from place to place at his will." He is also entitled to protection against cruel treatment and unfair domination by others.

If the whites assume the right to abuse the blacks who are weaker than they, and to disregard their rights, they then become independent only by sacrificing the black man's independence. But in that case peace no longer prevails in our nation, for independence is the possession only of the strong and the brutal, of the bully, not the gentleman, not the man.

Independence involves a claim to those rights which are equally enjoyed by all. The basis of human rights, therefore, is the proved power to promote the well being of men in society. "All rights of man" must justify themselves by proving that they promote the highest welfare of mankind. Can race prejudice, lynching, and segregation, be proven to promote the well being of the American nation? "Might makes right" is a phrase which expresses this thought, but such an axiom aims to disintegrate the solidity of our nation and our safety is greatly weakened. So today it is the tendering of common justice, not of color nor of might that insures the blessings of peace and liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

The United States Constitution is the basis of all our social, political, and economical rights. It provides for all citizens these rights, but it is ignored, and there can be but one conclusion. Those who insist on violating the constitutional provisions, and refuse to live up to their obligations have failed in a sacred trust. They are taking from a beneficial country all that she can offer. In return they have instituted prejudice, segregation, lynching, and outlawry. It was also declared that all men being created equal, the Negro is entitled to equal rights and liberty, in the pursuit of happiness. It is of paramount importance to the race to notice that the Negro now seeks these rights by means of appeals, petitions, and in courts of law. The passion of the persistent Negro petitioner is seemingly soothed as he sees one of his race in an official position in the civil or judicial department where he is conspicuously admired by all. With respect for his position the obser-

vant and optimistic Negro delightfully exclaims, "Ah, I can see my race progressing." He fails to see however, that the Negro on the job is ordered—"Thus far shalt thou go and no further." How far does it get the black race or impart to it the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to place a few well deserved Negroes in a decent position is the common sense question. The ancient Roman Empire had once reached the zenith of her pride, and had ruled almost all the world with tyranny, but because of her severity she fell and the name of Rome has now become almost obsolete. Whenever a people has reached the point at which they claim to be the mightiest of the mighty and a law unto themselves, not far distant is their time of downfall and desolation.

The intention of the white race towards the future of the black race is really explained by their unwillingness to live up to their obligations. But with their weapons of prejudice and segregation they have minimized the welfare of their own future in its entirety.

Part Two

COMMON SENSE VIEW OF THE RACE PROBLEM

We see therefore, that a country cannot protect the rights of every citizen and at the same time sacrifice the rights of some of its citizens. There can be no safety nor security for any one in a country where such conditions exist. America knows no greater disaster than this present situation which now confronts the American nation. "Unless there is a field for fair play, the blacks as the minority must suffer from the tyranny of the white majority." This is, of course, true only so long as black men remain apart, divided, and disorganized. If the world should be considered as having but two races of mankind, the black race and the white race, the population of the black race would by far exceed that of the white race.

There are about twelve million American citizens who are dissatisfied with the abuses caused by race prejudice. With a spirit of general unrest the black people are yearning for liberty and justice. The Negro must be given a hearing. This general unrest cannot prevail if America's future is to be safe.

A literary view of race prejudice is the custom adopted in the writings of printed literature. Why is it that in our country the term Negro, instead of his name appears conspicuously in newspapers or other kinds of literature, whenever a criminal act or wrong is committed by a black man? Can the reason be wholly for the purpose of distinction? The word Negro relates to a race of people. The first impression that such publication carries to the mind, therefore, is that of a despicable race. Whenever a white man commits a crime, it is being published as committed by that *certain individual* by name—or by *a man.* The common sense view fails to see why this latter term should not be equally applicable to both races in the matter of crimes. Now let some noble or worthy act be done by a Negro; if it is not eliminated from the white man's literature, a term otherwise than Negro is generally used, such as, a man, or his personal name; the fact that the noble deed was done by a Negro is thus concealed.

We know that Crispus Attucks comes first among the greatest patriots of America. He was a Negro and was the first to give his life that America might be free. In vain would the student in the majority of our schools listen for a lecture on such deeds of black men. American histories would also be searched in vain for the names of such great black men as Benneker, the mathematician; of the artist, Tanner; of the general, Hannibal; of the preacher, Solomon; of the teacher, St. Augustine; of the statesman, Bruce; of the church man, Allen; of the historian, Williams; of the poet, Whitney; of the explorer, Henson; and others in all phases of activities in all corners of the earth.

The Negro of the Western world has become enslaved in his mental attitude to white idealism. If he wants to be a president of the United States, it is only for a white man; if he wants to be a president of a railroad it is only for a white man. If he looks in his books in the school, nothing is recorded but what white men have done. When he goes to church it is a white Jesus, white angels, and a pure white God; when he reads of a great general, a great artist, a great statesman or a great writer, none are worthwhile but those of white origin, or if it were a doll for the baby to play with it was and is a white doll. And as a natural result of this, racial respect and regard, or racial consciousness, has been submerged; and a hopelessness of being anything except that which is reproachful to the white man's ideal, overshadows a proper functioning of the initiative germ in his brain. Knowledge of the history of his race, ancient or modern, was and is at the lowest tide, and only an insignificant number of the high school boys and girls of today can tell of the achievements of three of their race outside of Douglass, Washington, and Dunbar.

Such experience plus common sense shows that the whites with their prejudice, employ every possible means not only to humiliate, but to eliminate the Negro from society. They collect all that is evil and depraved, and connect them to the word Negro. This is evidently the common sense reason why some colored people of the race do not like the word Negro. They fail to understand that the connecting of vile things to the word is simply the white man's propaganda, or one of his methods of humiliating the race. They do not realize that there is as good a black man as any white man in any capacity of life. They also fail to understand that the word Negro relates to a certain race of people as does the word Jew, Irish, Turk, Dutch, etc. With the exception that it has no geographical origin, the word is one of designation used similarly as those mentioned above. Common sense does not think it impossible that the time might come when even the white man

would be glad if he were a black man. The word Negro as defined by ethnologists, has no other meaning than that it denotes a people with certain physical characteristics, and is derived from the Lain word *niger* which means black. Taking into consideration the different races of mankind, it is readily apparent that the naming of the different races from a Latin word pertaining to color is not a custom in general usage. If it were so, the red man would be called Rufo, from the Latin word *rufus* which means red. Likewise would the yellow man be called Helvo, from the Latin word *helvus* which means yellow. And similarly would the white man be called Albo, from the Latin word *albus* which means white.

By the use of common sense it is too clear to require argument that all races of mankind are endowed with certain physical characteristics and that any of the foregoing Latin words could be well used to denote the different races in the characteristic of color. It is of strange significance, therefore, that it is only the black race which is so named. Perhaps the only reason why the white man is not called Albo is because the black man was not first upon whom civilization had then dawned to have exercised this naming prerogative.

Whether the name be derived from *rufus, helvus, albus* or *niger,* it means nothing to the man but merely a name; and since the term "white man" is applicable as a means of designating white men of all varieties of color, it follows logically that the term "black man" is just as applicable a term of designation for black men, regardless of the shade of color they may possess. The term black man used herein must be understood to mean men of the race of all shades of complexion whatever. The man makes the name and not the name the man. It is for black men to make the word Negro representative of a people of high ideals, admirable character, and a high standard of morals. morals.

In spite of incredible abuses and oppressions the Negro has never succumbed to his sufferings. He has marched steadily uphill. He has shown to the world all the good qualities in the making of a man. Only sixty years ago he started with little or nothing. His business now includes every means that deals with the wealth-getting and wealth-using activities of mankind. From the boot black parlor to the banking business the Negro is to be seen diligently engaged. The world has yet to see a race with so great an ability as that possessed by the black race. His progress explains the common sense logic—"a man cannot keep another down, unless he stays down with him."

Sixty years ago the black man was considered insignificant; without ambition or ability to aspire or achieve; today he seems to be considered a rival, probably because he has so ingeniously demonstrated his ability to aspire and achieve, and in many places the aspirations and achievement of the Negro seemingly intensify race prejudice, which acts as an hindrance to his further achievement.

As to what the Negro will be sixty years hence, depends upon himself. The experience of present state and condition of affairs should serve to stimulate him to action. It is incredible to common sense to see that the Negro is apparently awaiting some greater events of severity in spite of the daily abuses and oppression of the iron hand. The fact will nevertheless be acknowledged, that just as sure as it is possible to screw a nut until it becomes tight, it is also possible to screw until there is a break. In order for the race to step a pace further, some fundamental requirements to be mentioned in a later chapter must become fixed and acquired.

11. Negroes' Rights in America Warrant Respect

In the year 1857, at the decision of the Dred Scott case, Chief Justice Taney took the occasion to say that when the Constitution was adopted Negroes had no rights

which the white man was bound to respect. If he were alive today it is more than probable that his decision would be different. Let us consider the foregoing decision. More than three hundred years ago the black man was brought to America from Africa. Whatever might have been his condition there he was not originally a slave. He was made a slave. Had he not been brought here, he might have been better off. But he was not left alone; he was brought here. Common sense takes the occasion to emphasize this fact, that although the black man did not come to America of his own free will he has helped to make this nation what it is, and that his rights must be respected. Since the month of August, 1619, when the first black men were brought to America and landed in the state of Virginia, until this present time he has never failed in his loyalty to the white man nor to defend America's cause. During this period of more than three hundred years, he has suffered for almost two and a half centuries in slavery giving "free labor" to the whites. The Negro having been freed about sixty years ago, has lived under incredible disadvantages until this day.

The Colonists began to oppose England in defense of their rights as British subjects since 1765, when a law was passed by act of Parliament (The Stamp Act) to tax the people who were not represented in Parliament. The Colonists resisted this taxation. Later, General Gage, then British Commander at New York visited Boston with two regiments. He stationed these soldiers in the centre of the town where they had frequent quarrels with the Americans.

In 1770, a fight occurred in which the soldiers fired upon the citizens who had gathered to defend their rights. A few Americans fell. Among the dead was Crispus Attucks, the black man who so bravely gave his life at the very beginning of the struggle for America's independence. This was called the Boston Massacre. "On that night the foundation of America's Independence was laid," said John Adams.

Five years later, at the beginning of the war which occasioned the great ride of Paul Revere, the British invaded the towns of Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. Somewhere within these areas the British commander Pitcairn was over-powered and killed by Peter Salem, another Negro patriot. The part taken by the Negro ancestors on such occasions warrants not only respect, but renders them equally entitled to all the rights of a civilized people.

Not less than two hundred thousand black men went "over there" in the last World War. No troop saw harder fighting or did better work. The generals testified to the soldierly qualities of these black men. The valor of one regiment won for them the prize of the "War Cross". Bravely and cheerfully they gave their lives on the battlefield to keep America free. "The Negro has rights in America as well as any other race, and their rights must be respected."

If the white man would but keep alive in his breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience, he should impart to the black man not only his rights, but a sympathy which the latter well deserves.

12. Law, Its Effect on the Negro

In many parts of the world the administration of law does not seem to be exempt from the sentiment of racial prejudice. In some courts of law the Negro gets little or no justice whatever, because rules of law seem to be ignored and omitted in cases in which Negroes are involved and decisions are evidently arrived at not from the legal, but from the racial point of view.

13. Some Experiences of Black Soldiers

In August 1917 the United States Twenty-fourth Infantry was sentenced to Leavenworth Prison, confined on charges of rioting at Houston, in the state of Texas. These Negro soldiers had previously borne an excellent record as to their discipline, deportment, and service.

The causes that brought on the riot were due to the following. These uniformed soldiers were daily insulted and abused in the city of Houston through intense prejudice. The men were humiliated and mistreated in various ways. The chief guard of this black regiment had been violently disarmed. One soldier was beaten almost to death. A well respected non-commissioned officer of the regiment was also brutally beaten and fired upon, because they had inquired into the mistreatment of a woman of their race by local policemen. The news was then carried throughout the regiment, reporting that their non-commissioned officer, Corporal Baltimore, had been killed. These constant abuses had caused such great provocation as to have driven the men into a sudden and frenzied action. These men were but human, and therefore subject to passions of excitement as all other men, but no regard for the frailty of human nature was applied to them in spite of their long and orderly conduct. No pardon nor consideration was given them but that they should be condemned. The punishment of the men in this regiment was said to be the most drastic and unusual in the history of the United States Army. Nineteen of the men were hanged. The first thirteen almost instantly without even the right of appeal. The news of this drastic execution shocked the entire country, but to the Negro race it seemed a punishment through color prejudice rather than for crime. This feeling was intensified by the fact that although the riot was one between whites and blacks, and the officers of the black regiment were white men, that none but the Negro soldiers were prosecuted and condemned to death.

Besides the nineteen soldiers who were hanged, fifty-four of them were sentenced to life imprisonmnt and long term sentences. Such experience has served to justify the Negroes' common sense not only to beware, but to think with greater interest of war-time psychology.

14. Race Prejudice as it Affects the Negro

Race prejudice is unknown to children of tender years. This proves the fact that man is not born with prejudice. Race prejudice therefore is not a natural antipathy. It may be better defined as: "A natural ignorance developed and practiced by people who are actuated by feelings of superiority in the belief of their creation by means of an imagined superior clay to that from which others are created." This belief of the white man is the result of his "supreme ignorance of the importance of men of other races," and this he calls white supremacy.

But such belief can be founded upon a mere hypothesis; because belief without a fundamental element of available fact is a delusion. There is no state in the Union that is free from race prejudice. The only difference to be observed is the manner in which it is manifested. In the southern states it is intensely oppressive; in the northern states prejudice rages the same wherever the two races come in contact, but its severity is not manifested with the results of fire and blood as it is in the southern states.

The Negro's progress is due to his observation of thrift, virtue, diligence, and industry, but unless there is a field for "fair play" he stands in woeful loss of his life, and of the fruits of his energy; experiencing such violence at the hand of the lawless whites as lynchings, discrimination, segregation, and the frequent attacks of the violent mob.

15. A Thrifty Black Man

(Sections 15 to 19 inclusive were abstracted from N. A. A. C. P. Reports)

Near a small town in the state of Georgia a black man was born fifty-eight or sixty years ago. By work, he accumulated a little money with which, some years ago, he

bought a farm of 140 acres, where he lived with his wife and twelve children. Three of his daughters were educated. They were school teachers.

A three-room house was on the farm. The farm was well stocked, this man owning in 1919 outright five mules, and having made payments on the purchase of a horse, a cow and thirty-five hogs.

During the war with Germany, he with his family bought approximately $1,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and Thrift Stamps. This man headed an organization of his people, who raised between $10,000 and $11,000 for Liberty Bonds. His work was highly praised by newspapers at the time.

A white man, who can neither read nor write, owns a farm adjoining the farm of the black man. When the articles praising him for his war work appeared, the white man remarked, "———'s getting too damned prosperous and biggity for a nigger." Trouble began.

A line dispute. . . . . The white man had his land processioned. The black man had no representative present. The processioners ran the white man's line twenty-five feet over the black man's line, across the terrace which had been there since the black man was a boy child working for the family from whom he bought the land. The deed given to him covered the land to this terrace.

The white man crossed the terrace, drove stakes along the new line, and warned the black man not to cross the line. The black man disregarded the warning and continued to plow on the terrace, as he had been doing since boyhood.

Arrested. Blacks and whites from the country crowd the town Saturday afternoons. One Saturday, the black man with his three daughters and son came to town. The town marshal approached him in the street and said, "I have a warrant for you." The black man answered, "Mr. ———, what have I done?" "Read your warrant,"

the marshal replied with an oath that he would rather kill the black man than read the warrant to him.

Here the evidence varies. The black man had a stick in his hand. Some say that the white man who is large and powerful, grabbed the stick and struck the black man in the face with a pistol, knocking him down. Others state that the black man, raising his stick, backed away when the marshal rushed in and struck him to the ground with his pistol. Several other white men rushed upon him and began to choke and beat him.

Daughters suffer. Two of his daughters started to him. A man kicked one of the girls in the stomach. The other reached her father and began to wipe the blood from his face. The three were quickly overpowered. The third daughter and the son were caught. All were locked in jail. The girl who was kicked was menstruating. The blow made her deathly sick. She lay in jail moaning and begging that something be done for her, and her father who was bleeding badly from his wounds. The sheriff locked them in, and left them without medical attention, though ignorant of the charge against them.

Next morning he learned that his neighbor had sworn out a warrant against him for trespass. The white sheriff refused to tell him what the charge was against his son and daughters. The black man employed a lawyer. Then he found that he and his daughters were charged with resisting an officer in the discharge of his duty, his son with carrying a pistol. This was the white neighbor who said that he had seen the son put the pistol in the buggy, while the crowd was on his father. The buggy was searched; no pistol was found.

Lynching threatened. Talk of lynching the black man and his family caused removal to another county. A committee of citizens waited upon the judge of the circuit, who informed them, it is charged, that he would put this man in the chain gang, when the case should come up for trial.

The man, his daughters and son were tried in the Superior Court. The father was sentenced to serve twelve months in the chain gang and pay a fine of $250.00. The girls were fined $50.00 each. The son was fined $100.00. The father paid the fines of his children.

The man's smaller children and his wife were in his home, while he was in jail. A mob led by the town marshal, went to the house, kicked the door and demanded admittance, then shot up the house and went away. This was night.

Woman and children terrorized. Next morning, the woman with her children fled from her home, never to return.

A friend went by night and removed the live stock belonging to the family, and sold them for them at a great sacrifice. Their crop was a total loss. They will be lynched, it is said, if any of them ever return to their home.

Reputable merchants and bankers in this county unite in giving the man and his family a good character. The son has been offered a loan of $450.00 by a leading farmer to pay a note, the holder of which threatened suit during these troubles. A leading merchant gave the father a line of credit running from $800.00 to $1,500.00 a year. One of the best citizens of the county signed his bond.

"Thrift", sole offense. The education of his children and the success of his thrift seem to be the sole offense of the black man.

16. THE NEGRO LYNCHED

CASE No. 1. Two white men, drunk, went to the black man's section of a town in Georgia at night. An elderly black man took his gun and went into the streets, it is claimed to protect the women of his race. In the shooting which followed, one of the white men was killed.

The black man was placed in jail. A mob invaded the jail, got possession of the key to the jail. They lynched the black man.

CASE No. 2. A black man was taken from the white sheriff who was carrying him from one county to another for safe-keeping, and lynched. The black man was a preacher and teacher. School and churches were closed on account of influenza, and the teacher went to work for a farmer.

In a dispute about extra work, the white farmer attacked the black teacher with an axe. The teacher raised his gun and fired. He was taken and lynched. The farmer is alive.

CASE No. 3. A black man was tied to a tree and shot to death. No indictment has ever been found though the man was charged with assault upon a white girl. No arrest was made.

CASE No. 4. A black man was suspected of the murder of a white woman. He was arrested. The same day he was taken from the jail. In the midst of a mob of 3,000 people, he was burned to death by a "slow fire," the torture being prolonged as much as possible.

CASE No. 5. Sam Smith, black, 15 years old, alleged to have shot and wounded a white grocer, and himself wounded and lying manacled to a bed in the hospital, was taken out of the hospital, and lynched by a mob. The mob of a dozen men kept attendants at bay, cut telephone wires, and carried Smith to the outskirts of the city where he was strung to a tree and his body riddled with bullets.

CASE No. 6. A mob of over 200 men overpowered the sheriff in his office in order to get possession of Roosevelt Grigsby, black, 20 years old, who was alleged to have *attempted* to attack a white girl. He was dragged across the court yard and hanged to a tree within 50 feet of the sheriff's office. A bullet was fired through the body which was then cut down, tied to an automobile and dragged through the streets of the section inhabited by black people.

CASE No. 7. A black man on the place of a white farmer, made a crop of 2½ bales of cotton and two 2-horse wagon loads of corn. The crop was turned over to the white farmer, who claimed that the black man still owed him $118.00. He later ran away to Atlanta, where he was arrested and carried back and put in jail. After working a week he again escaped, and walked to Atlanta where he was arrested again on the day of his arrival, and carried back again. In his presence, the black man charges, the farmer offered to sell him to another man, if the man would pay him $55.00.

Offer to sell. The whites deny this, but one admits that the other said something about paying him for the expense of his Atlanta trip. He says that he settled with the black man, and he agreed to work through the following year for $12.50 a month and his board, the farmer agreeing to cancel the debt of $118.00. The black man, the same day ran away. It was on account of $5.00 in cash and the goods, that the warrant for cheating and swindling was sworn out.

The wife of this man, mother of a girl of nine and a boy of eight years, confirms her husband's story with the additional information that the farmer knifed her husband while they were killing hogs, for some trivial infraction of the farmer's orders.

CASE No. 8. A black man worked for a white farmer for about six or seven years. The contract called for a certain wage, but the white man would pay him what he chose. The black man left three or four times, but was always brought back.

The year 1920 he was to receive $25.00 a month and board. At Christmas he asked the white man how much he owed him. The white man told him $65.00 and paid him $10.00. The black man left and went to Atlanta where he was arrested and carried back January 26, 1921.

Arrested and whipped. The warrant for his arrest, charged him with assault with intent to murder, committed December 27, 1920. He was released when the Grand Jury returned "No Bill" against him. The warrant was sworn out by the white employer.

CASE No. 9. The black man described above, states that another black man working on the same place, had run away. He was arrested and brought back, severely whipped, and put to work.

Fear of Death. A black woman working on the same place has been there for four years. She states that she ran away and reached Florida, but was brought back. Both the man and the woman state that the white employer would kill them, if he found that they had talked to anyone.

18. THE NEGRO DRIVEN OUT BY ORGANIZED LAWLESSNESS

CASE No. 10. White threatened. A white man received the following notice:

NOTICE

To Mr. ————:
You had better keep black men out of this house of yours if you don't everything you have got will be burned down to the ground. Beware and take notice.

Night Rider X

CASE No. 11. Terrorizing Railroad Laborers: Black men were being worked on a railroad. A small mob visited the camp, and notified the white foreman and the black men that if they continued to work while white men wanted jobs, they would be mobbed. A number of the black men were frightened away.

CASE No. 12. A black man was taken from his home and badly beaten. The same month, small coffins, gruesomely painted, one marked with a skull and cross bones, were left on the porches of the homes of two black men.

CASE No. 13. The black men living in one district were threatened. Their churches, schoolhouses and homes were burned. Several families were driven out of the community.

CASE No. 14. Conditions in this county grew worse than ever. Houses occupied by black men, some of whom owned their own farms, were posted with threatening notices. Letters ordering them to leave were sent them through the mails. In a week, fifty-one black men, women and children fled to a nearby town, where they had to be supported by charity. The notice stated that no black men would be allowed to live from the river north of the town to the Blue Ridge Mountain.

19. THE NEGRO SUBJECT TO INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF CRUELTY

CASE No. 15. Two black women and a man, the nephew of one of the women, lived together. Whites drove the man away and debauched the women. These white men were prosecuted and made to pay a small fine.

CASE No. 16. A poor white family, the father suffering from tuberculosis, lived near the black man's home. The blacks helped the whites. Two girls were in the white family. It was charged that the black man who was helping them, was going to their home for immoral purposes. The black man was lured from his home at night and shot to death.

All of these cases, with the exception of two, occurred in the state of Georgia, but these are not all: they are only a few of the 135 cases of alleged mistreatment of black men in Georgia within two years. When we think of the 47 other states, none of which is free from race prejudice, it is not hard to understand the grievances of black men.

Without design or the knowledge of each other, Georgians have called these one hundred thirty-five cases to the attention of the Governor of that state. Said the

Governor, "No effort has been made to collect cases; if such effort was made, I believe the number could be multiplied. In some counties the black man is being held as a slave. In others, no black men remain. In only two of the 135 cases is the crime against white women involved."

Justification of lynching in the last thirty years has been based upon the contention that only by the brutal method of mob murder could white women be protected.

The truth about this crime has been proven through the persistent investigation and publication of the real facts by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It has been proven that the record for New York county, which is only a part of New York city, in a single year, 1917, there were 230 indicted for rape, of whom thirty-seven were indicted for rape in the first degree. That is, in just a part of New York City, nine more persons were indicted for rape in the first degree than there were black men lynched on the charge throughout the entire United States, in a five-year period. Within four years, 1914-1918, the black men lynched in the United States, exclusive of those killed at the East St. Louis riot, was 264. Not one of the 37 persons indicted in New York county was a black man.

20. Reasons for Lynching the Negro

What then is the cause of this violence and hostility of the whites against the black man? Common sense will attempt to suggest the four following reasons. 1st, That such classes of white people are uncivilized, having within them a ferocious spirit with a heart thirsty for blood, or 2nd, If civilized, they entertain a heart of malice and hatred so overwhelming as to render them murderers of humanity. 3rd, The fallacious belief that the black man, unlike other men of the human race, should be abused and murdered at the will of the whites. 4th. The humility

of the black man as a weak, civil, and law-abiding citizen, and as such he is like a rabbit to the lion, a prey to the strong and powerful.

Although the future welfare of the black man depends upon himself, a duty also rests upon law-abiding white citizens, to take into the southern states and throughout the country, the gospel of Christ and the Word of God. American missionaries have evidently failed to first pluck the mote out of their own eyes before going to foreign lands to teach Christianity to others: "for there is no sweeter pleasure than preaching Christ at home." The only remedy for race prejudice known to common sense is the Christian religion.

21. Oppression of the Black People a World-wide Practice

Although the black men of our country may suffer more painfully through racial discrimination than the dark-skinned peoples in other parts of the world, it must not be understood that America is the only country in which racial disregard for the weaker race flourishes.

We have only to observe the incidents which occurred in the lives of such men as Abd-el Krim, the black Riffian leader of Morocco, North Africa, who for seeking the rights of his people and the freedom of his native land, was over-powered by the combined forces of France and Spain and was finally driven into exile; of Marcus Garvey, the black leader in America who was sentenced to prison during his efforts to redeem the land of his nativity, (Africa) and to free his race from injustice and a state of servitude; and of Mohandas Ghandi, leader of a non-cooperative movement in India for the welfare of his countrymen.

As a method to crush his movement, Ghandi was arrested by the British Government in India in March 1922. In the Circuit Court of British Sessions at Shai Bag, he was charged with attempting to excite disaffection

toward His Majesty's Government. He was sentenced to one year in prison, but the influence of public opinion through the world induced the British to release him.

The following is an abstract from a speech by Ghandi:

"I feel it a duty to explain why from a staunch loyalist and co-operator I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-cooperator. My public life began in 1893 in South Africa in troubled weather. My first contact with British authority in that country was not of a happy character. I discovered that as a man and an Indian I had no rights. More correctly, I discovered that I had no rights as a man because I was an Indian. But I was not baffled. I thought that this treatment of Indians would be an outgrowth of good to my people. I gave the Government my voluntary and hearty cooperation, criticising it only when I felt it was faulty, but never wishing its destruction. Consequently, when the existence of the Empire was threatened in 1899 by the Boer challenge, I offered my services to it, raised a volunteer ambulance corps and served at various actions that took place for the relief of Ladysmith. Similarly in 1906, at the time of the Zulu revolt, I raised a stretcher-bearer party and served till the end of the rebellion. On both these occasions I received medals and was even mentioned in dispatches.

When the war broke out in 1914 between England and Germany, I raised a volunteer ambulance corps in London, consisting of the then richest Indians in London, chiefly students. Lastly in India, when a special appeal was made at the war conference in Delhi in 1918, I struggled, at the cost of my health, to raise a corps in Kheda. In all these efforts I was actuated by

the 'belief' that it was possible by such services to gain a status of *full equality* in the Empire for my countrymen.

The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob my people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead in intensive agitations against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors, beginning with the massacre at Jallianwall Bagh, and culminating in the crawling orders, public flogging and other indescribable humiliations. I saw that the reforms were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude.

I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection had made India more helpless than she ever was before, politically and economically. She has become so poor that she has little power of resisting famines. Little do the town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of India are slowly sinking into lifelessness. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town dwellers in India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity, which is perhaps, unrivalled in history.

The law itself has been used to serve the foreign exploiter. My unbiased examination of the Punjab martial law cases has led me to believe that at least 95 per cent of convictions were wholly bad. My experience of political cases in India leads me to the conclusion that in nine out of every ten the condemned men were totally innocent. In 99 cases out of 100, justice is denied to Indians as against Europeans in the courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is the experience of almost every Indian who has had anything to do with such cases. The greatest misfortune is that Englishmen and their Indian

associates in the administration of the country do not know that they are engaged in the crime I have attempted to describe. The section under which I am prosecuted is one under which the mere promotion of disaffection is a crime. I have studied some cases tried under it, and I know that some of the most loved of India's patriots have been convicted under it. I consider it a privilege, therefore to be charged under that section. I hold it a virtue to be disaffected towards a government, which in its totality has done more harm to my race than any previous system.

In fact, I believe that I have rendered a service to India and to England, by showing in non-cooperation the way out of the unnatural state in which we are both living. I am here to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime, and what appears to me to be my highest duty as a citizen."

Evidently, we see that the oppression of the whites is felt throughout the world by those who struggle for "manhood and freedom rights."

Is it not common sense that the black peoples of the world should banish selfishness and seek cooperation amongst themselves for the sake of common justice?

Part Three

COMMON SENSE SOLUTION OF THE RACE PROBLEM

22. Essential Requirements Needed

Every business must have certain requirements if it must succeed. Likewise to solve the race problem and achieve success, the Negro race must have certain

essential requirements. These may be numerous, but common sense has set forth the three following: Race Consciousness, A Fearless Leader, and A Goal.

1—*Race Consciousness*

Race consciousness means to beware of the existence of one's race as a distinct group of the human family; to consider the rights of the Negro before the wrongs with respect to other races; to have a sense of racial pride; that black men should not fight against black men; to have one God, one aim, one destiny. Race consciousness leads to unity, and once it is achieved the goal is almost won.

2—*The Leader*

Often have we been told that we must unite, but seldom have we been told *how* to unite. A view through the ages of human experience will justify the fact that the first step towards unity is to have *one leader*. But every leader must have some necessary qualities; the chief of these are: knowledge, courage, confidence, ambition, observation, energy, imagination, enthusiasm, optimism, tact, loyalty, judgment, and the power of will.

Knowledge—Besides a knowledge of the race which he represents a leader must first have a knowledge of himself. There is also a branch of knowledge which is called "classic education". But those who think that such information is the only foundation of culture do not grasp the true significance of education and its relation to modern civilization. Culture demands first of all the power to think right. The facts of the modern world, and the attitude towards races of mankind are as vital to us as the pyramids were to the Egyptians. There is as much material for acquiring the necessary knowledge in planning to lead a race of people as there is in translating Greek.

The leader who works faithfully to promote the welfare of his race and who is in contact with people of

character and ability has opportunities for obtaining knowledge far superior to those who only read Cicero, Shakespeare, and Demosthenes and confine themselves to the study of mathematics and science.

Courage—Timidity, shyness, and self-consciousness belong to the same family. We usually find all where we find one, and they are all enemies of peace of mind, happiness, and achievement. The timid leader exaggerates at every slight failure. Introspection will, however, enable him to realize his own weakness, lose self-consciousness, and plunge into his work with renewed courage.

Confidence—As cited before, the successful leader needs to understand not only himself, but the race he represents. If he lacks confidence he should give up his vocation, for nothing is more certain than that a man cannot do his best work in a calling that does not command the best in him. But a leader cannot have thorough belief in himself without having something substantial on which to base his faith. In these days of every race for itself, specific knowledge of his race and reliable united followers will form for him the corner-stone of self-confidence.

Confidence in self is increased by each victory and by a philosophical view of all failures. Few attempts, when a man has done his best, can, with strict accuracy, be called failures. In the eyes of some they may be failures, but each is a profitable experience. The leader who has faith in himself and in the race he represents knows that his inability to carry his point occasionally is merely an incident. He knows that he has the power that must eventually pull him through. So he merely tries to remedy his ills, and optimistically perseveres.

Ambition—A man's success depends primarily on having right motives which spur the ambition to go forward. Some motives or instincts are inherited, but many other motives come to men through experience, and the ability to understand and to hold fast to that which is good. The Bible says, "Where there is no vision the

people perish." A writer expresses the same thought when he says: "When once the eye of the soul has beheld a vision, life and all it holds is transformed. Hard work becomes pleasure; labor becomes service; obstacles become opportunities." Discontent is a universal malady to the races of mankind. Consequently, it becomes the duty of teachers and leaders to diagnose, to articulate, and to interpret the unrest of humanity. Many large groups of the Negro race have not yet recognized the cause of their dissatisfaction. They have never tried to think why they are so abused and oppressed, and will not listen to those who try to define their case for them. If discontent is let alone, one of two things happens: It may take on a spirit of pessimism and consign the man to a life of permanent drudgery, or it may suddenly become explosive and result in divers disasters. The ambitious leader differs from the desirous leader in that he has a definite goal. Instead of wishing for certain things, he covets some one thing; then perception dawns. Ambition is the narrowing, intensifying, concentrating, and crystallizing of desire. It is the focusing of every wish, hope, and longing upon one definite object.

Observation—Observation is that quality of a leader that enables him to keep alert and see things. His observation and his inquiries give him such knowledge as he can use to advantage in his work. The observant leader not only sees, but he is free with intelligent questions and thus completes his store of information.

Energy—A leader may have many strong qualifications, but if he lacks energy the rich rewards of leadership will not be his. He who imagines that a leader has a life of ease should not take up the work. When a man has thought out an idea and has worked at it with all his force, the only remaining thing needed is the persistence to keep to the job. Thousands of good plans have been put down as failures because they were abandoned too soon. It is indeed wise to abandon any plan as soon as

it seems certain to be a failure. But it is a human weakness to form judgments too quickly. There are many men who can work with great enthusiasm as long as everything goes well, but when anything seems to go wrong, they cannot stick with bulldog tenacity and try plans out to the end. "Stick everlastingly to it!" should be the motto of every good leader.

Imagination—The man who does nothing but dream, who never acts, is likely to be impractical.

But it must be remembered that every new thing once existed only in some one's imagination. The leader without imagination has no spirit for new activities. He is not a leader but a follower. Good imagination enriches the mind of the good leader and fits him with a cheerful spirit for the work at hand.

Enthusiasm—Enthusiasm gives the leader that zeal and mental ability which are so important to his work of leadership. The leader who is full of enthusiasm will inspire his followers, consequently getting them enthused by his attitude and expressions.

Optimism—Optimism is that trait which enables men to look on the bright side of things, to hope for and believe in the best; pessimism is the opposite trait which makes men look on the dark side of life.

An important trait for the leader, therefore, is optimism. He should not expect to be successful all through his work of leadership, so he not only needs the ability to look on apparent failures philosophically, but to regard them as distinct gains in experience.

Tact—Tact is a quality that should be acquired by all men, but the leader, especially, must have it. A leader possesses tact who perceives the distress of his people and conceives the idea to tactfully lead them out of it.

Loyalty—When a man steps in the field of leadership and begins to work for his people, sincerity and loyalty should also be ushered into his life. The world is far from being honest, but if some men did not try to be

honest it would be much worse than it is. A loyal leader sees with a clearer vision than any other; not only that, but he is also more efficient.

Injustice to his race having justified his determination, he has a definite standard by which to shape his actions. His decisions are firm and time is not wasted in useless alternatives.

Judgment and Will—The leader should use his judgment in weighing all the phases of a situation before doing anything. Then, having carefully formed his conclusions, he should have enough confidence in himself to stand by his judgment, unless developments prove that he is mistaken. The leader who cannot make up his mind and stick to his decisions is handicapped and never has a chance to show his true worth.

The power of will then forms the background of his decisions, calling into action all the other qualities necessary to the achievement of success.

3—*The Goal*

The third essential requirement for solving the race problem is the *goal.* Every leader should have a goal. That is, a well defined purpose at which he aims. The leader without a goal is like a rudderless ship which must sail somewhere, but drifts hither and thither with no fixed direction. The man who launches on a well defined course turns aside from everything of subordinate interest, and relinquishes everything of lesser value because his purpose is formed. Every power of mind and body will then bow to the dictates of the will. He is now engaged and engrossed in the accomplishment of one object.

Discontent and desire have now been changed into a driving force. As a leader he now undergoes a remarkable change. He is no longer doubtful or timid. He takes on a spirit of aggressiveness, carries an air of resourcefulness and self confidence, looks circumstances in the face with a challenging boldness, and works on courageously until the *goal* is reached.

23. Achieving Success by Will Power

No matter how discouraged a man might be, there is generally a voice that speaks within, warning that all is not lost, but that all will be well in a little while. This is the voice of the power of will. Who is the master of your power of will? No other but yourself. The Negro must begin to practice using his power of will and his life will be what he desires and *wills* it to be. Success will then be the result achieved by putting into practice this great mental power.

Men like to help those who show that they are trying to help themselves, so the Negro of today must throw off the spirit of self-depreciation, and prove to the world that he is capable of helping himself. The Negro who believes in, and depends on the oratorical expressions by men of alien races for his rights, is like the drone bee that buzzes around, but only to be killed later by the workers on whom they depend to manufacture the honey for their life's support.

The Negro without the power of will to rise out of the mire and stand with those of his race who are striving for liberty and justice seems hopeful in wishing for some super-natural power to enable the perfidious whites to respect his rights, or to regard him as a man equally deserving of all social, economical, and political rights. But it is said, "If wishes were horses then beggars might ride." God, in making man in His own image, imparted to him certain powers for his further development and has left him thus to shape his own destiny. The shaping of the Negro's destiny must be fully realized as his own task, and not the task of men of other races. He must demand his rights if his future is to be safe, otherwise he must be satisfied at the best with "good expectations". But to do so he would be making himself a sheep at the mercy of the wolves; and it is true "If you make yourself a sheep the wolves will eat you." The Negro has been a sheep long

enough. He must now use his *power of will,* for the time has come that he must be changed, and with a spirit of determination that knows no bounds he must break through all the barriers that stand in the way of his progress.

24. THE GREAT BARRIERS

Common sense perceives that the sympathetic feelings of the impartial and well informed Negro leaders are the same toward the race. They consider lynching, jimcrowism, segregation, etc., to be wrong, and with sense of reason they have taken action against these evils, is to secure the "rights" of the Negro. But can this sense be the sense of *good reason* when they themselves are opposed to each other if their interest is for the race as a whole?

This weakness seems due to: 1st, Self-consciousness, instead of *racial consciousness,* which leads to diverse opinion as to the right course that must be taken in solving the race problem. The greatest Leader and Savior of the human race,—Christ—gave His life that we might be saved. Negro leaders must in duty to the race lose themselves and be united for the good of all.

2nd, Intermarriage. Although there may be cases to prove the benefits of intermarriage, it does more harm than good to the Negro race. It works a potential injury to the race, because it gives rise to half-breeds who cannot be naturally race conscious; a characteristic most necessary to the progress of the race. The offspring of black and white parents lose the right to "racial integrity." That is, they belong to no true race of the human family. They are unfortunates, although like all other human beings, they are irresponsible for their birth.

3rd, Half-breeds. Half-breeds are naturally disposed to be an effectual barrier to the progress of the Negro race. Their relation to the race is like a referee who stands between two contestants to see that the game is played fair, but is timid to show the slightest emotion in favor of either party, because he is so closely related to both. It might

be improper that they should be classified as Negroes, and they are strongly repudiated by the whites. Half-breeds cannot in good faith do justice to a mother of one race without sacrificing the rights of his father of another race. They are indeed unfortunates who are more willing to "grin and bear it" than be traitors to their blood. They have the tendency to seek persistently, an equal level or an even balance of two factors of considerable difference in size, capacity, and volume, without advancing or adding to the deficiency. Such are the propensities of half-breeds; their natural tendency, according to their nature. But the fact should again be emphasized that like all human beings, half-breeds are not responsible for their birth. Every person can do his part in breaking down these barriers by sticking to his own.

25. Toleration and Retaliation

Acts practiced continually become customary. Black men have tolerated abuses for so long that it has become a customary habit, and Negroes everywhere must cooperate to put a stop to this habit. They must be willing to make much sacrifice if they must have justice, because discontent through abuses grows destructive. In many parts of the world we have noticed that it results in race riots and rebellions. But such procedures are inadvisable and inconsistent with the fundamental principles of good government. It is the duty of a government therefore, to exercise justice and thus procure the peace of the nation. The work of every government is like the duty of a good mother—to give to each of her children a square deal.

The attitude of black men in spite of abuses is worthy of observation; though mistreated they entertain no spirit of enmity or hatred toward the whites, but rather than retaliate they continue to endure with great patience. In solving the race problem the method of divergence and dividedness has proven to be decidedly wrong, and the common sense system must now be applied,—co-operation

with the unequivocal assent of every person of the Negro race for the common cause of absolute freedom, liberty and justice. The Negro race cannot afford to be divided among themselves. They must put aside all feelings and ideas that have so long kept them apart and be united.

If black men are not cautious they will suffer from the cumulative sentiment of prejudiced Americanism until they completely perish from the effects of it. Common sense can see but little room for hope unless there be unity. But individual consent alone is not sufficient; neither will the consent of a certain class, group, club, or organization serve to solve the race problem. But when every individual class, group, club, and organization shall with one accord and assent be organized into a single "unit" then will be found the test to the solution of the race problem.

Organizations pertaining to this "unit" have been found, but they are deprived of full power chiefly because of the diversification of opinion existing among the race.

26. THE U. N. I. A. AND THE N. A. A. C. P.

After his arrival into the United States in 1916, Marcus Garvey, Negro journalist, started with about thirteen men in a small room, the New York branch of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. With branches all over the globe, the U. N. I. A. is now the largest Negro organization in the world.

His enemies after becoming envious of his great activity eventually succeeded in prosecuting him. He was brought before the United States District Court in New York on a charge of using the mails to defraud, and was subsequently sentenced to five years in a Federal Penitentiary. Though behind the prison bars his organization still flourishes, owing to the depth to which he has sown the seed of race consciousness among his people. Fearless of the enemy, Garvey put racial above social consciousness, and takes the lead as the greatest Negro organizer of our time.

As a small committee in 1909, a group of Negro and white leaders got together and founded what is known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A white woman, Mary White Ovington is chairman of the board, and Moorfield Storey, a white barrister, is the President. Miss Ovington and Mr. Storey are at the head of affairs but the guiding faculty is Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of the greatest intellectual Negroes of America.

Now, for the welfare of the Negro race in its effort to solve the race problem, common sense herein gives three practical essentials—Race Consciousness, which leads to unity, a Leader, and a Goal; all resulting in the achievement of Power. It is to this power that common sense refers in stating the deprivation encountered by these organizations through lack of unity. This is the power for which the Universal Negro Improvement Association is striving in the spreading of its doctrine of a redeemed Africa. As it is believed, Garvey is the Moses of the greater masses; instead of diminishing, his power is growing daily, that is, the power of racial consciousness which he has deeply planted in the hearts of the Negro peoples of the world.

It is of vital importance however, to set forth the fact that the acquiring of power depends primarily upon the industrial and economic achievements of the black race. The Negro must develop his economic status. He should take a place in the commercial field, and acquire such things as commerce needs. He must also acquire such a field of industry as to attract the markets of the world. Then too, the Negro must be a powerful voter. He must have a voice of power in the political affairs because of the injustice done to black men throughout the world by the functioning of political machines in every corner of which exists the element of racial prejudice.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is essential to the welfare of the American Negro: as in other parts of the world where not only the Negro's rights, but his life is at stake because of prejudice and injustice, the N. A. A. C. P. is like that Omnipotent Voice which calls out in the nick of time, "Lay not thy hand upon the lad." It works as a legal defence, as a federal aid to education; its efforts to lessen segregation, discrimination, lynching, etc., render it almost indispensable to the welfare of the American people; although its efforts are being met with repeated injustices and abuses.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association seeks to establish a government in Africa by which the rights of the Negro will be protected and respected in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and in the islands of the seas; yet its attempt experiences many difficulties and set-backs.

The object of the N. A. A. C. P. is to safe-guard the political, civil, and legal rights of the Negro of America, and to secure for him equality of opportunity with all other citizens.

The aims and objects do in many ways differ, but each serves its own purpose; and when carefully scrutinized is seen to be functioning for the same purpose—the rights, liberty, and justice of a people oppressed. It is not in accordance with common sense, therefore, to be scoffers or knockers of either organization.

In considering the importance of these two organizations, two important questions might arise which are here presented to knockers and critics as follows: first, how long will it take the N. A. A. C. P. to secure the equal rights, liberty, and justice for American Negroes as is prescribed in the United States Constitution? Second, how long will it take the U. N. I. A. to redeem Africa and thus secure the rights, liberty and justice for Negroes throughout the world? "Time brings everything" is the answer of common sense as it pauses for a reply, and again warns—not

to be scoffers or knockers of either organization, but be a booster, be wise, work, pray and *unite*. Now, let these two organizations be amalgamated, and the sooner will be overcome all the obstacles that impede, or tend to impede the progress of the Negro race.

27. MAN AS A CREATOR

God is creator of all things
He created man from the dust of the earth.
God made man in His own image and likeness;
He also gave man the power to create.
Men are also creators.
Man creates brass, steel, woolens, silks,
Almost all the inanimate objects on earth.
Man creates houses, churches, great ships, engines,
And all the magnificent structures we see:
All these man creates from the dust of the earth;
Man creates nations, cities, and towns—
To protect these, man creates laws and governments.
Man creates the political, civil, and legal rights.
Man also creates his education
Which he teaches to his own liking.

The black man has been a helper in all the works of creation over which the white man now rules. It follows logically therefore, that according to the experience with races of mankind and their relation one to the other in the affairs of the modern world, the black man must not only create for himself, but must govern that which he creates as do men of other races. Otherwise he must be content, or remain discontent with that which is given him.

The Negro as a race should know through experience that if the request in a petition is at all granted, the petitioner gets only so much as the creator or possessor is willing to impart to him. Furthermore, the system of petitioning for that which the Negro does not control

and govern is also seen to be directly followed by "repetition in close succession" of the very evils sought to suppress.

But did not the Negro forefathers in the days of creation pay with their blood that their descendants might have justice? They did, but we see that they have not governed that for which they fought. Consequently, the result of their sacrifice is acknowledged by the white man merely as a "moral obligation" which is not binding upon any man.

Why then does not the Negro create for himself his own freedom, his liberty, and his own justice; is he not also a creator? Yes, but apparently many seem to fear. Fear that they might lose something; failing to see that they have nothing to lose, but much to gain—the blessings of liberty, freedom and justice for themselves and their posterity.

A common sense question again arises: How long will it take the Negro to complete his work of creation? I dare say that if the Negro will cooperate in seeking to maintain that relationship with the Omnipotent Creator, looking to God as his captain, general and commander-in-chief, and unite for the common welfare of the race, the work of creation will be completed within such "a reasonable time" as to startle the world. Just so long as it takes the Negro to discover himself as a creator, equal to creators of other races, and to know that what he has helped alien races to create, he can also create for his own race, only so long will it take to put his work of creation in operation. *Black man, know thyself; thy power to create is within thee!*

What of the babes who will be men after you shall have passed into eternity? Must they suffer the punishment of everlasting prejudice, injustice and abuses as you have suffered in the advent of the ruling whites?

The great test in solving the race problem lies in the "ability to unite, create, and control." *This, and this only is the real test.* Until this test is tried, it cannot be said that the Negro has done his best to gain his liberty.

If the Negro is eventually to gain full access to all blessings of creation, the spirit of deviation and divergence must then be metamorphosed, and in this new stage of realization *race consciousness* for their survival must be presumed as true.

When black men shall have embarked upon this new arena of life and self-conviction, then will be found that concentrated "unit" with one determination to make provisions of peaceful abode for themselves and their posterity.

There is no religion higher than Truth and true humanity bids us judge everyone according to this, and not by mere days of servitude and darkness.

Every race has its "good day" when it finds its higher self.

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